

175 of the Wine-cup" -- a small group devoted to
538 serious drinking and metaphysical flights of
Taoist and Buddhist fancy.¹² Both men suffered
misfortune and privation during their lives, but
Li Po sought to escape them by retreat into a
romantic world, unlike Tu Fu, whose poetry
often expresses suffering in moving terms. Both
men are acclaimed by the Communists. Tu Fu's
concern with his own and the world's miseries
has been interpreted by the Communists as evidence
of his anti-feudalistic feeling, and the current
regime has lauded him and his poetry while mak-
ing his home in Ghengtu into a national shrine.¹³

Another famous exponent of Chinese culture
from Szechwan was Su Tung-p'o (Su Shih, 1036-
1101). He has a high place among the great names
of Chinese philosophy, literature, and caligraphy.
His philosophic writings -- committed to no
orthodoxy and searching for the truth in Confucian-
ism, Buddhism, and Taoism -- were long influ-
ential in China and Japan as well.¹⁴

C. Development of Chinese Settlement and Direct Control

• 167
175 Large-scale settlement of Yunnan and Kwei-
chow by Han Chinese and the extension of Chinese
central authority in these provinces and Szechwan
became a Chinese policy with the Ming Dynasty.
Under its rule, mass migration into western
Szechwan and the Yunnan-Kweichow plateau was
effected on a planned basis. One of the initial

12. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 219-220.

13. S.C.M.P., 840, p. 41.

14. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 264, 267.

175 acts of the first Ming emperor Hung Wu (Chu
• 167 Yüan-chang) was to remove most of the popula-
tion of the Nanking area to Yunnan. Thereafter,
armies recruited largely from the Yangtze
Valley were settled in agricultural colonies through-
out the fertile regions of Szechwan, Kweichow,
and Yunnan. Fortifications were established at
strategic points in the three provinces. Control
and colonization in other areas of the Southwest
Region were facilitated by commercial and
civilian agencies. These acts made possible the
establishment of Kweichow as a province under
Chinese administrative control.¹⁵

175 The incorporation of Yunnan, Kweichow,
136 and Szechwan into the Chinese Empire did not
mean the imposition of effective control by the
central government throughout these provinces.
The Han Dynasty policy of indirect administration
of non-Han Chinese areas through local rulers
was formalized under the Ming Dynasty by the
inauguration of the t'u-ssu system. Under it,
local rulers were confirmed or established as
hereditary t'u-ssu (local agents of the govern-
ment) with various ranks in tribal areas. About
one-third of these local chieftains were natives
of the areas they controlled, another third were
tribal leaders not native to the locality under
their command, and the remaining third were
Han Chinese, most of whom had adopted the
customs of the subject tribal people.¹⁶

15. Wiens, op. cit., pp. 180-85, 192-200.

16. On the inauguration of the t'u-ssu
system and the extension of Chinese control in
the Southwest Region, see ibid., pp. 221-66.

D. Conflict between Tribesmen and Han Chinese

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• 167
563 The mass migration of Han Chinese into the Southwest Region and the attempts of the central government to increase its real control there resulted in heightened and continual conflict between tribesmen on the one hand and the new settlers and the Chinese government on the other. Even if the intrusion of the central authority did not bring with its exploitive and corrupt government, the influx of settlers encroached on the domain of the tribesmen to threaten their livelihood and the power of the local ruler.

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669
563 Oppression and misgovernment by the Han Chinese bureaucracy, along with appropriation of former tribal lands by Chinese agriculturists drove the Miao people of Kweichow into desperate acts of violence twice in the eighteenth century. A great outbreak in 1735 was put down with much bloodshed by an army under General Chang Kuang-ssu. After enduring another half-century of misgovernment and exploitation, the Miao people retreated to the deeper mountain recesses of the province and again attempted rebellion under the leadership of Wu Pa-yüeh in 1795. In the next two years, the tribesmen sacked Chinese cities and towns in Kweichow, Szechwan, and neighboring Hunan before once more being [167] suppressed by central government force. Thereafter, the Miao people confined themselves to sporadic raids against the Han Chinese, who steadily advanced into the old tribal territories.²¹

21. Ibid., pp. 190-191.

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II. THE HAN CHINESE IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Southwest the Han Chinese appear to greatly outnumber the non-Han Chinese. This is because the Han Chinese are mostly settled in cities, towns, and more accessible areas. Moreover, many tribesmen who dress like Han Chinese peasants may be mistaken for Han Chinese. The Han Chinese in this region are generally divided into (a) the native Han Chinese (Lao-han-jen or old Chinese), who have been there for at least 200 years and have intermarried with the aborigines, and (b) the immigrant Han Chinese (sometimes called K'echia) who came later.

A. Szechwan

In this province, the native Han Chinese have spread in the south and west. The more recently arrived Han Chinese of Hunan and Hupeh origin are to be found in the western, eastern, and southern parts of the province; those of Honan, Anhwei, and Kiangsi origin, in the southern part of the province; and those of Shensi and Kansu origin, in the western and northern parts of the province. Cities like Chengtu and Chungking have other Han Chinese from Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu.³ The Manchu government in the mid-seventeenth century encouraged immigration into Szechwan with the promise of land, and more than 1,700,000 Han Chinese migrated.⁴ Many others who settled in Szechwan had been traders or government officials.

B. Sik'ang

The migration of Han Chinese into this province started in the T'ang (618-907 A.D.) and Sung (960-

175 1280 A.D.) dynasties. In the Ch'ing (1644-1912 A.D.)
167 dynasty more than 200,000 Han Chinese went to
166 Sikang as refugees, criminals, laborers, and ad-
venturers. Shortly after 1910, about 70,000 to 80,000
Han Chinese went from Szechwan to Sikang as
merchants. Pa-an (Pa-t'ang), at the center of the
province, and K'ang-ting, in the eastern part of the
province, have more Han Chinese than other cities
in Sikang.⁵

C. Yunnan

175 The first Han Chinese invasion into Yunnan
took place in 225 A.D. during the period of the Three
Kingdoms (221-266 A.D.). The next Han-Chinese
attack during the T'ang dynasty was repulsed by a
powerful Thai people organized as the Tali Kingdom
of Nan Chao. This kingdom, however, was conquered
by the army of Kublai Khan in 1253. The most im-
portant campaigns undertaken by the Han Chinese in
Yunnan occurred in the Ming (1368-1644) and early
Ch'ing dynasties. Some large families in Central

3. Lou, Yun-lin, Sze-ch'uan [Szechwan],
Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu, 1941, pp. 35-36.

4. It is said that this policy of the Manchu
government was pursuant to rebel Chang Hsien-
chung's wanton killing in Szechwan at the end of
the Ming dynasty which had nearly depleted the
population there. See chapter on Historical Back-
ground.

5. Ch'en, Chung-wei Hsi-k'ang Wen-ti [The
Sikang Problem], Shanghai, Chung-hua shu-chu,
1930, pp. 85-90.

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- 263
● 167 China were compelled to colonize Yunnan early in the Ming dynasty, and most of the Ming garrison soldiers were from the vicinity of the Yellow River and the Yangtze. Among the Han Chinese immigrants were criminals and refugees.

D. Kweichow

The ancestors of the small number of native Han Chinese in this province were soldiers left behind in the wake of earlier military campaigns. Their descendants, speaking the old dialect (or a modification of it) their forebears brought into the country, now form separate communities. They are sturdy and industrious, and generally own the land they cultivate, but they are regarded by the immigrant Han Chinese in much the same category as the Miao and the Pu-yi. The native Han Chinese, in the course of time, have been absorbed into the non-Han Chinese and the immigrant Han Chinese groups. The immigrant Han Chinese came after Kweichow was made a province of the Manchu Empire. Most of them claimed Kiangsi as their old home. In recent years, however, nearly all the Han Chinese immigrants have come from the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan, particularly Szechwan.

(For cultural characteristics of the Han Chinese in this region, see chapters on Social Structure and Family.)

6. Wilhelm Credner, Cultural and Geographical Observations Made in the Tali (Yunnan) Region with Special Regard to the Nan-Chao Problem, Bangkok, The Siam Society, 1935, pp. 12-13.

7. Samuel R. Clarke, Among the Tribes in Southwest China, London, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., China Inland Mission, 1911, p. 11. - 80 -

CHAPTER V

MÖNG MOW TO MANWAING AND BHAMO.

Leave Möng Mow—A village of outlawed Chinese—An impenetrable hedge—The Möng Wan plain—The Chinese Shans—Their dress—The Möng Mow dress—Möng Wan—A boy sawbwa—The Ho-hsa chief—A fine old gentleman—La-hsa—A recent rebellion—The sawbwa in trouble—A pleasant unsophisticated old chief—The valley of Ho-hsa and La-hsa—Its A-ch'ang inhabitants—A distinct race from the Shans—The sawbwes of Chinese extraction—Man-waing—The Trade Protection Levy—A Chinese dinner—Playing *mora*—Margary's murder—Responsibility of officials for murders in China—Chinese soldiers—Cartridges that do not fit the rifles—A Panthay officer—Kachins' heads in baskets—Back to Bhamo.

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● 167 ON the 11th we started for Möng Wan, the next Shan state to the north. Our road led over the hills which divide the Shweli from its tributary the Nam Wan, and entailed an ascent of about 2000 feet and a corresponding descent on the other side to Sang-hawng or Chang-fêng-kai, which is the only place in the Möng Wan plain where there are any Chinamen living.

They are many of them men who have made things too hot for themselves elsewhere and have fled from justice to this out-of-the-way corner where Chinese officials are not likely to trouble them. No Yün-nan Chinaman would come and live here from choice. The level of the plain, like that of the Shweli, is about 3000 feet, and it is therefore considered too unhealthy to live in during the hot part of the year by men so liable to fever as the Yün-nanese.

^S
^P
361 The village is well defended by a very thick and broad hedge of a sort of thorny bush through which it would be impossible to penetrate without deliberately cutting a way. It is doubtless intended as a precaution against attack by the Kachins who inhabit the surrounding hills. I have seen the same sort of hedge round Wa villages, east of the Salween.

[p. 24]

Sino-Tibetan

Border AE3

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Mi-li to Chung-tien

take to talking Chinese and to practising some of the Chinese religious observances. Then the women even will learn to speak Chinese, will wear Chinese dress and even bind their feet. Finally the Lo-lo language is gradually dropped, and the young men grow up knowing nothing but Chinese. This stage once arrived at, the transformation is nearly complete, and the next generation will probably indignantly deny their Lo-lo origin. S
ST
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The same process goes on with Shan and other tribes, but in Tibet exactly the reverse takes place. The Chinese become Tibetanised, and the children of a Chinaman married to a Tibetan woman are usually brought up in the Tibetan religion and adopt Tibetan customs. In Tibet proper this is perhaps not surprising, as the country ruled by Lhasa is practically an independent kingdom and the Chinese have little influence there. But in places like Chung-tien and other districts well within China, it is somewhat astonishing to find a regularly appointed Chinese official submitting to the indignity of being a complete nonentity in the country he is supposed to rule.

I think the reason of this may be partly found in the enormous power that the lamas wield over the laymen. Forming, as they do, nearly half the male population they have all the authority in their hands, and it would be impossible for a Tibetan to conform to Chinese customs or religious observances without incurring their anger.

Another cause which keeps the Tibetan from being absorbed may be sought in the cold inhospitable nature of his country. There is nothing to tempt the Chinese to emigrate into Tibet, and consequently they are never in sufficient numbers to influence the Tibetans round them. A similar cause has preserved some of the low-lying Shan States from absorption, the heat in this case being the reason that Chinamen do not settle there. S
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Chung-tien stands in a large plain which at the time of our visit was very bare, as the snow had only just melted off it. A little later, when the warmth of the sun has had time to act on the soil, damp from melted snow, green grass springs up everywhere. The height of the plain is 11,800 feet, and it is too cold to grow rice or even maize: wheat is the chief crop. S
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M from Yunnan during the Han period, and today they are distributed in an area west of Wu-chiang River in the Shui-hsi region.

*101 C The Chung Chia migrated from western Kwangtung during the Five Dynasties period and are scattered in the central and southern sections of Kweichow. Among these four groups the Miao and the Chung Chia are the most numerous, next the Lolo, /18/ and the Ch'i Lao are smallest in number and are gradually nearing extinction.

M The pure Miao tribe in Kweichow is further divided into five subgroups, the Hung Miao, the He Miao, the Pe Miao, the Ch'ing Miao, and the Hua Miao. The geographical distribution of the Hung Miao is along the eastern part of Kweichow bordering Hunan and the vicinity of T'ung-jen is the center. The He Miao are spread over a wide area in southeastern Kweichow, including such hsien as Tu-yün, Pa-chai, Tan-chiang, Yung-chiang, Yung-ts'ung, Li-p'ing, Chien-ho, T'ai-kung, Chen-yün, Shih-ping, Huang-p'ing, Lu-shan, etc. It lies in the region south of the Hunan-Kweichow highway and east of the Kwangsi-Kweichow highway. The Pe Miao are found in the central part of Kweichow, starting in the east at Kwei-ting and Lung-li, passing through Kwei-chu, Hsiu-wen, and Ch'ien-hsi, and reaching Chih-chin and Lang-tai in the west. The Ch'ing Miao are also found in central Kweichow, principally in the vicinity of Kuei-yang, but also at Hsiu-wen, Ch'ing-chen, Ch'ien-hsi, and Chen-ning. The distribution of Hua Miao is the most extensive, starting from the vicinity of Kuei-yang, scattering over the northern and northwestern parts of Kweichow province in K'ai-yang, Jen-huai, Chih-chin, Lang-tai, Shui-ch'eng, and An-shun hsiens.

M Owing to repeated military attacks during the Yüan and Ming periods, many of the Miao tribes in Kweichow moved outward. The Hung Miao who lived in the vicinity of Tung-jen in eastern Kweichow moved eastward to the three subprefectures /t'ing/ of western Hunan. During the four rebellions in the Ch'ing dynasty, in 1698, 1732, 1794, and 1855, when 167 armies were used to put them down, the Miao fled in all

SW China AF14
Central China AF14

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• directions, which led to the mass migration of Miao tribes in modern times. The He Miao gradually migrated to Hunan and Kwangsi. The Pe Miao moved from the northwest to Szechwan and Yunnan. The Hua Miao moved through An-shun in the west to the eastern part of Yunnan and north to Wu-ting and along the banks of the Chin-sha-chiang River, and again through the southeastern part of Yunnan to the north of Tonkin in Indochina. The Ch'ing Miao dispersed in all directions in the three provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, and Yunnan. The foregoing relates to the major migratory trends of the Miao, but actually in the interior of Hunan, Kwangsi, Szechwan, and Yunnan several Miao subgroups are often found in one area. The writers found three subgroups at Meng-tzu, Yunnan, the Pe Miao, the Hua Miao, and the Ch'ing Miao, but the last two were not easily distinguishable from their dress. Furthermore, several groups inhabiting the same area are likely to intermarry so that after a considerable length of time has passed, it is difficult to distinguish between them.

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Hunan. — The earliest Miao immigrants to the three sub-prefectures of Feng-huang, Kan-ch'eng, and Yung-sui in western Hunan were the Hung Miao. The He Miao, smaller in number, came later. According to the "Study of Miao Customs" in the Miao Fang Pei Lan: "Those living within the three sub-prefectures are commonly called the Hung Miao, but there are slight differences among them. For instance, in Yung-sui sub-prefecture they are all Liy Li Hung Miao. But at Huang-kua-chai /village/ to the southwest of the sub-prefecture and Ya-yu and Li-ling-chai to the /19/ south of the sub-prefecture, the aborigines are known as He Miao. To the north of the sub-prefecture Chi-tung-p'ing, Ch'a-tung, and La-erh-pao, bordering Pao-ching and Hsiu-shan, are inhabited by the He Miao together with some T'u Man. The Hung Miao, having many villages and people, are held in awe by the others; the He Miao being fierce and occupying lands difficult of access can contend with them. The Hung Miao are more numerous, but the He Miao are more violent, and consequently

families, many of whom have a far better income than if they had joined a rich monastery where they are only sent into the families when their turn comes on the monastery lists.

Up until the latter years of the seventeenth century the Tibetan royal house of the Dyala dyalbo or (written lDschagsla rgyalbo) enjoyed unrestricted rule over their kingdom which even today is sizable, extending from the Nya Chu (Ya lung Kiang) up to the large Gold River (Tung Ho, Da tu Ho) and at the Lu ting kiao bridge (built in 1701) bordering on the district of Ya tschou fu and the small Tibetan kingdoms of Leng pien and Schen pien tu se. These have become almost completely Chinese in manner and customs; having cleverly estimated the existing balance of power they yielded to the superiority of the Manchu Emperors when the latter showed a desire to conquer Tibet. They always kept the road open, but thereby made enemies of the Dalai Lama and his Dewa schung.

Meanwhile thousands of Chinese colonists have migrated into the country, bought lands along the road, and from Lu ting kiao to Ta tsien lu on the Lu ho one meets practically only Chinese who pay taxes to their Chinese officials, so that today the Kingdom of Ming tscheng begins only at Ta tsien lu. (2) The city of Ta tsien lu has

2. The right banks of the Tung Ho and the Lu Ho Valley are under the jurisdiction of the Tsa li Ts'ien hu, a chief bailiff of Ming tscheng who, today, however, has very little to say there.

become the chief support of Chinese power in Tibet. But it is a positive miracle and evidence of a special gift that the old Dschagla kings are in existence at all, that so far they have been able to maintain themselves, and that they have never lost patience.

For his Tibetans the king is to this day absolute ruler and in the lateral valleys off the large military road only he and his bailiffs rule. In Ta tsien lu itself he still has certain tax rights with regard to the tea trade. Indeed, the freedom of movement which the Chinese government allows him is often quite astonishing. Around the year 1900 when the second son of the former ruler was the king recognized by Peking and when he quarreled with his younger brother, the present king, over his inheritance, the monastery of Dordyl dschak, the Chinese mandarins did not interfere with the quarrel and quietly went their way even though night after night in front of the city gates bullets were exchanged between the adherents of the two